

# **RED BOOK**

# **MEXICO TODAY**

—AND—

**Our Position and Responsibility as A Nation  
Regarding Conditions in that Country**

—  
**With an Opinion as to the Solution of the Question  
Without Further Interference from the  
United States**

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**BY**

**R. O. LANCE, M. D.**

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**An American Representing the Views of  
Refugees from Mexico now Residing  
in the United States.**

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**A Concentrated Review of Events in Mexico  
During the Past Four Years**

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**San Antonio, Texas, July 15, 1915**

641 Drexel Avenue

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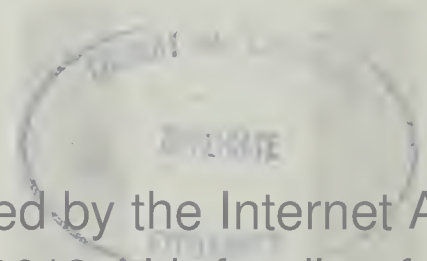
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In this article I shall endeavor to make clear to you the much discussed and misunderstood Mexican question, the cause of the so-called revolution, its effect to date and the natural, logical solution; also the part the United States Government has played in the matter and their responsibility.

As to my position in the matter I can assure you that I am not affiliated with any of the factions; have known Mexico intimately for more than thirty years from the Rio Grande to the borders of Guatemala and from the Pacific to the Gulf of Mexico, during which time I have known personally and dealt with many of her authorities as well as having employed and come in contact with thousands of her peons.

The object of the article is first to acquaint you with the facts and true conditions and then ask your co-operation in seeing that justice is done, not only to Mexico and the Mexicans, but to the seventy thousand of your fellow citizens and thousands of Europeans who have made their homes in that country.

The American public have been grossly misled regarding conditions in Mexico, and owing to this and the suppression of facts must, sooner or later, be compelled to shoulder obligations and sacrifice the lives of thousands of her sons if there is not a decided change in our policy regarding the country south of the Rio Grande.

Now as to the cause of the so-called revolution: One of the prime factors was Francisco I. Madero, an idealist, a man better acquainted with foreign countries and their peoples than with his own; a man who believed, or pretended to believe, that his country was ripe for democracy, a government by popular vote; this fact alone proves conclusively that he did not know his own countrymen.

Is it not an established fact that a democratic form of government cannot be successfully established in a country where the majority of the people are not naturally intelligent and know neither how to read or write? Education makes democracy. Less than twenty-five per cent. of the inhabitants of Mexico know how to read or write, therefore democracy is, at this time, impossible in that country.

Madero was a spiritualist and his personal and official acts were

the result of conferences, as he claimed, with his old friends Napoleon Bonaparte and George Washington.

Another of his ideals, the one which gave him the enormous following he soon had, almost exclusively among the peon class, was the agrarian plan, or the dividing of the large land holdings among the poor. This is one of the strong points? being used by certain officials in Washington to convince the American public that the Mexican peon is in a state worse than slavery and that it is the duty of this government to do something to alleviate the condition of the poorer classes. In fact this has been one of the principal arguments used in an endeavor to justify the policy of the Washington administration.

Disabuse your mind, reader; this condition did not exist in Mexico during the time that General Diaz held office, and the majority of the officials making these claims know them to be absolutely false and are doing so to gain your support and sympathy, knowing you to be ignorant of the facts. The land question was settled in Mexico years ago, and in a very equitable manner, as follows:

Under the law of Denouncement every citizen of Mexico, either native or foreigner, had the right to denounce before the Department of Fomento any lands of the public domain, in any state of the republic, at a cost of from \$1.25 to \$6.00 Mexican currency, a heetara (two and one half acres), and with no strings attached such as immediate improvements. In addition to this the peons had rights to the lands known as community land; each municipality received from the Central Government a certain portion of federal land in the immediate vicinity, and each and every native had a right to cultivate or use his proportion of that land without any recompense either to the municipality or the Central Government.

When you take into consideration the fact that there are hundreds of thousands of acres of public lands in every state, with the exception of the Federal District, which is the same as our District of Columbia, you can readily see that there is no law or condition that prevents the peon from acquiring land. He does not desire land; if he did he would have taken advantage of his rights of denouncement, as every peon in the country knew he had that right.

He has no ambition, no initiative, he is shiftless, and like the animal, is satisfied with the needs of to-day without any thought of the morrow. In fact he is below some of our animal life; the squirrel, for instance, will store his food to run him over the winter months, but the peon will not look that far ahead. He requires a guiding

hand. During the more than thirty years that General Porfirio Diaz ruled the country the peon was as contented as he ever will be so long as he has to work for a living.

As an example of the customs on a large hacienda or rancho during that time between employer and peon I will illustrate:

The farm laborer received fifty cents a day as wage; in addition to this he got a *jacal*, or native house, free of rent, as well as a piece of land to cultivate for himself sufficient to supply the chief staples, such as corn, beans, sugar, vegetables, etc., for the maintenance of himself and family. He was infinitely better off than the American laborer with a family working for a dollar a day.

If you pay him fifty cents a day he will work six days a week because it is necessary to do so to live; if you raise him to seventy-five cents a day, as I have personally done, he will work only four days of the week, making the same \$3.00 which he requires to meet his needs; if you paid him \$3.00 a day he would work one day a week and eat, sleep and drink aguardiente the balance of the time. Every man knowing the peon will vouch for the fact that this is characteristic of the lower classes in Mexico.

I will now go back to the reason of Madero's tremendous following among this class of people. When he offered them, as he did, a dollar a day, a horse to ride and gun, with a nice farm free after the success of the revolution, as well as the privilege of looting in the meantime, they flocked to him by the thousands. They did not rally round him because he was Madero or represented a principle to them. They would have done the same with anyone who was above them socially and made them the promises Madero did. Of course, after they served Madero's end, that is, made him President, he could not comply with his extravagant promises, and his former allies became enemies. It is something on the order of the promises made to the negroes in our own country during the war of '61 of forty acres and a mule.

Of the 150,000 comprising Madero's army 80,000 were criminals of the worst type serving from five to twenty years in the prisons of Mexico for robbery and murder; his first act upon taking a city or town was to liberate the prisoners and incorporate them in his army. And the majority of the men serving under Carranza and Villa to-day are the same ones who were liberated from the prisons by Madero. Can you wonder at the horrible crimes committed by these fellows when armed and turned loose on the public with a free rein and the protection of their superior officers?

There were other potent factors through which Madero received financial and physical aid to such an extent that he was able to overthrow President Diaz, but of this I do not deem it prudent to speak at this time. History will reveal all this in the future, and I assure you when the facts are known every self-respecting American will bow his head in shame for the part he has unconsciously been compelled to take in the commission of the most diabolical crime ever conceived where human blood was played against dollars and cents.

Upon the resignation of Madero at the request of the Mexican congress, forced through public opinion, General Victoriano Huerta became the legal *de jure* president of Mexico, and then the troubles of that country began in earnest. In a few days both Madero and Suarez were murdered, and the insinuation was made in Washington from political sources and for political reasons that Huerta was responsible for these crimes, when the fact of the matter is he was no more responsible than you are. Huerta had everything to lose and nothing to gain through the death of Madero in this manner. He could have imprisoned him or even expatriated him, and with reason and justice. Madero had verbally agreed to resign and when congress had drafted the document and sent it to him in the National Palace for his signature what did he do? Simply had the bearer of the message, Coronel Riverol, murdered on the spot.

All of the leaders at this time were playing for recognition from the United States, and Huerta has, on hundreds of occasions, proven himself far too astute to commit any such blunder as this even if Madero and Suarez were in the way. But they were not. Huerta was President when they were killed. Madero had lost all prestige and was considered by the majority of the Mexicans not only an incompetent but a traitor. What had Huerta to fear from them? Absolutely nothing. I positively know that an effort was made to murder Huerta the same night that Madero was killed.

There were other Mexicans desiring the position, and both Madero and Huerta were in the way; Madero's murderer is now in Guatemala and for those well informed it is a simple matter to figure out who had the most to gain by the removal of Madero, Suarez and Huerta.

Reflections have been cast upon the integrity of our own ambassador at the time, Mr. Henry Lane Wilson, and he was ignominiously removed by the State Department for the simple reason that he complied with his duty and had the courage of his convictions. He will at no late day be vindicated at the expense of higher up's.

The Washington administration refused to recognize the government of Huerta although all other civilized countries did. Huerta was known to be a strong man, one who would not pledge certain concessions in this country as Madero did, as Carranza has done; these men were willing to sacrifice their country's riches for their own personal gains. Huerta was not willing to do so which accounts for his unpopularity in certain circles at Washington and on Wall Street.

Mr. Wilson claimed it would be immoral to recognize Huerta; does he mean to say that all of Europe, who did, without exception, recognize Huerta, are immoral countries? Does this mean that the President of the United States is to set the standard of morality for the rest of the world? Did not President Wilson then lower his standard of morality when he immediately after recognized the president of Peru who entered office over the dead body of his predecessor? His recognition of the new President of Peru was tantamount to a confession of error regarding Mexico. On the other hand the big interests were not at stake in Peru as they were in Mexico.

Does this not convince you that there is something being concealed from you, that there is some ulterior motive for wanting and insisting upon a certain individual as president of Mexico. Had Mr. Wilson recognized Huerta when advised to do so by Mr. Moore, the State Department's brilliant legal adviser, peace would have been restored in Mexico within three months.

He not only failed to recognize him but placed every obstacle possible in his way, making it a physical impossibility for him to dominate the situation, notwithstanding the fact that Huerta had the sympathy and support of ninety-five per cent. of the inhabitants of his country.

Mr. Wilson cut him off from money, arms and ammunition in this country, and at the same time was openly supplying them to the enemies of law and order.

I am going to demonstrate to you now that the Washington administration is entirely, solely and exclusively responsible for conditions in Mexico to-day and also that they alone can be instrumental in restoring the country to normal conditions:

Early in November, 1913, Mr. Wilson served the following note upon Huerta:

First: That the first magistrate is of the opinion that the recent *coup d'état* was a direct violation of the assurances which Huerta gave his government.

Second: That unless Huerta, voluntarily and on his own initiative, retires at once from power and abandons every idea of controlling the organization of the government and the conduct of negotiations, the first magistrate will find himself under the necessity of intervening by means of an ultimatum, and if this is not accepted he will be obliged to propose to the congress of his country the adoption of practical measures of a most serious nature.

Third: That the government of the first magistrate sincerely desires to avoid extreme measures, as much for the sake of Mexico as for the sake of peace in America, and is of itself disposed to act reasonably in order not to wound Huerta's sense of dignity, and at the same time to give Huerta the personal protection he might need.

Fourth: That with this purpose in view it proposes the following: that there be selected some person, or small group of persons which to the least possible extent shall have been connected with the recent political disturbances (for example, men of mature age who have retired from the field of politics and who enjoy the confidence of the people), who shall form a constitutional government and make whatever arrangements may be necessary for a general election. In these elections there shall be selected a new congress and a new chief executive, to the end that the government be established on a constitutional basis.

Fifth: That such a course is absolutely necessary to the end that he (the chief executive) merit the approval of the first magistrate, for the reason that the government of the chief magistrate has firmly and irrevocably decided, by one method or another, to eliminate completely all assistance that Huerta believes he may receive from foreign sources, if he persists in his proposal to remain in power, it being a further fact that only for a few days longer will he, Huerta, be free to select the course he chooses to follow. His withdrawal, and consequent absolute liberty of action in the reestablishment of constitutional power, alone will be accepted by the chief magistrate. This government cannot urge with too much insistence, now that the outcome is inevitable, that Huerta reach his decision wisely and at the same time give full consideration to the terrible consequences which will follow his vacillation or refusal.

Sixth: That the proposal to substitute Blanquet, or any other representative of the government of Huerta, or any one connected with his *coup d'état*, will conduce to further irritation on the part of the first magistrate and inevitable and definite rupture. The same result will

follow any effort to place in power the candidates chosen at the last election, be it for President or member of congress.

The above are Mr. Wilson's own words; now let us dissect this note and see what it means:

First paragraph: In the first place it was not a *coup d'etat*, as Huerta was appointed to office by right of succession by the duly elected Mexican Congress, and not by force of arms. Nobody but Mr. Wilson claims it was a *coup*.

And supposing that it were a *coup*, does the American Government, do the American people, wish to presume before the world that they have the right to dictate as to the manner in which the rulers of foreign countries shall be placed in power? You cannot, even if you so wish, endow your President with this faculty; nevertheless when he considered himself authorized to say who or who should not be President of Mexico he compelled you, as American citizens, to assume the enormous responsibilities, both financial and moral, that have resulted from his presumptions policy in that country.

Second paragraph: And how could Huerta voluntarily resign when Mr. Wilson threatens to stick a gun in his ribs if he does not do so? This is on the order of the *voluntary* loans collected by Carranza and Villa. And Mr. Wilson in the same paragraph threatens Huerta with an ultimatum, and if this is not accepted he will propose to the Congress of his country the adoption of practical measures of a most serious nature. Is this not a confession that what was previously done was impracticable? When a man starts wrong he is in deep water until he screws up sufficient courage to admit to himself he has been wrong and then rectifies as far as possible his errors.

Paragraph three: And Mr. Wilson admits that Huerta has a sense of dignity which he does not wish to wound and expresses that wish in an insulting note of this character. It would be laughable were we not dealing with such a serious question. It is like stepping on one's pet corn intentionally and asking his pardon, then slapping him in the face and asking that he excuse you. And Mr. Wilson offers Huerta personal protection. That is comical. Huerta never asked for, desired or needed protection from his own people. He needed protection only from Mr. Wilson's persecution. He, as well as all other good Mexicans and thousands of Americans, wanted Mr. Wilson to let him alone and not meddle in the internal affairs of Mexico. I was with him in Mexico City on the night of the day he resigned, standing in the door of "El Globo" on San Francisco Street. Protec-

tion? His people were shouting "long live Huerta."

Paragraph four: Mr. Wilson demands that arrangements for a general election be made. Here, more clearly than ever, he demonstrates his ignorance of conditions in Mexico. A general election cannot be held in Mexico in less than fifty years from now, the reason for which I have previously explained.

Paragraph five: There should never have been a question raised as to whether Mr. Wilson approved of Huerta or not. It should not have been a question of Huerta's personality, be he whatsoever Mr. Wilson may think. It was a question as to whether the President of Mexico, in his official capacity, gave the necessary guarantees to protect *foreign personal and material rights or not*. That he did so in territory under his control is beyond question. There is not a single case on record where complaint was made by a foreigner against a Mexican in the territory controlled by Huerta in which a satisfactory settlement was not made.

And Mr. Wilson says that his government has firmly and irrevocably decided, by one method or another, to eliminate completely all assistance that Huerta believes he may receive from foreign sources, etc. Is that not an appalling, an egotistical statement, a thing impossible of accomplishment? Mr. Wilson threatens all of Europe if they do not obey his instructions and for no other reason than to satisfy a personal grudge he has against Huerta. Every nation in Europe was acting strictly within their rights when they shipped arms and ammunition to Huerta. They recognized him as the *de jure* President of Mexico, he recognized them, and he paid for all he got, in spite of Mr. Wilson's threat. Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan all sent Huerta war supplies, and openly, long after Mr. Wilson made the above threat. The grape juice must have fermented the day this note was composed.

In only one instance was Mr. Wilson able to prevent Huerta from getting arms and ammunition, as far as I can learn, and that was from Japan. Huerta had sent a commission to Japan to purchase arms and ammunition; this commission contracted and paid for twenty-five thousand carbines and forty thousand rifles. They also contracted for ten million cartridges which were delivered to the commission but rejected by them as worthless. Of the rifles twenty thousand were shipped a few days before the Americans occupied Veracruz; when the balance of them were about to be shipped the Japanese Government notified the commission they could not ship them as a note had been

received from the United States *requesting* them not to allow the shipment.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The fact of the matter was the Japanese Government refused to allow the shipment, the commission telegraphed the American State Department making claims, (which telegram was never answered), the Japs sold the arms to Russia and as I am informed by a member of the commission still hold about a million pesos of Mexico's money. Another significant incident is the fact that the next day Minister Okuma published a statement to the effect that Mexico could not any longer count on assistance from Japan as they were very good friends to the United States.

Huerta did the only thing possible under the circumstances, ignoring in *toto* the note.

Mr. Wilson claims to be an advocate of peace but he does not hesitate one minute as President of this country to declare a personal warfare against the President of Mexico. And by what right, legally or morally, does the President of the United States say who shall or shall not be President of Mexico? Would you concede the right of the King of England to name your president? ●Then how can you expect the Mexicans to allow Mr. Wilson to name their chief executive?

After Huerta ignored the above demands Mr. Wilson invited further the criticism of all right-thinking Americans who understood the situation by raising the embargo on arms and ammunition and openly lent the support of the American nation to the most notorious murderer and bandit living, Doroteo Arango, alias Pancho Villa.

Does it not arouse your indignation to see the support of this great country given to a world-renowned bandit to further his own criminal aspirations through your President publicly supporting him?

Is it not inexplicable?

Even with the above support Carranza and Villa could not advance, and then Mr. Wilson deliberately blockaded the port of Veracruz in an attempt to prevent Huerta from getting the cargo of arms and ammunition from the German ship Ypiranga, consigned to Huerta at Veracruz.

I shall now make clear to you that the invasion of Veracruz was not only uncalled for but inexcusable, but you must forget race prejudice and look the facts squarely in the face. The flag incident of Tampico was a protest, and the real object was to prevent Huerta from receiving the arms and ammunition on board the Ypiranga. The American flag was not insulted at Tampico. Under the circumstan-

ces there could be no insult to the flag. Some American marines in uniform landed at the dock in Tampico which was being patrolled by Mexican soldiers. Under military law the world over, it is absolutely prohibited that either armed uniformed soldiers or marines shall land on territory of a foreign nation in a state of war, and such a landing shall be considered as a declaration of war. That same rule is a part of the American code, and according to your own law and custom the marines were guilty of a breach, and the Mexicans resented it the same as you would do under like circumstances.

Would you resent the landing of their soldiers on your territory? And if the flag had been insulted at Tampico and that were reason for the invasion would our forces not have been landed at the point where the offense was committed? Our forces were landed at Veracruz, not Tampico, and with the sole object of preventing Huerta from receiving the cargo of the Ypiranga, as events have proved, and not with the intention of forcing Mexico to salute our flag. If that were the object why has it not been saluted?

In spite of the fact that according to law and custom the Mexicans had been guilty of no offense, the military commander of Tampico rendered a prompt apology to the American commander before any claims had been made from Washington, an apology which would have been satisfactory to any country even if an offense such as claimed had been committed. Why has Mr. Wilson not demanded an apology from Villa who publicly tore down the American flag in Chihuahua and spat on it and has violated it on numerous occasions?

Did Mr. Wilson then make good his threat in paragraph five of his note? No. He would then have had a first-class power to deal with. When the captain of the Ypiranga discovered that Veracruz was in possession of the Americans he refused to discharge his cargo there; he took to the high seas, followed by American cruisers, got instructions to discharge his cargo at Port of Mexico and deliver it to Huerta's forces, which he did. There can be no question as to the injustice of this move. It was not only unjust to attempt to prevent the only recognized power in Mexico to get arms and ammunition with which to hold off the different bandit factions and at the same time to allow the criminal element to get them: it was cruel, cowardly, criminal.

Do not forget that Huerta was the only hope of the decent and virtuous element in Mexico, and that his enemies were the men who have committed the most fiendish of crimes; and do not forget that

President Wilson was aware of these facts. If he were ignorant of this there might be some excuse, but he was not, as thousands of letters, telegrams and individuals so informed him, therefore, having the facts before him it can only be classified as above, cruel, cowardly, criminal.

There was absolutely no excuse for the invasion of Veracruz except to satisfy the personal animosity of Mr. Wilson, and naturally the Mexicans were much incensed and bitter toward Americans. Mr. Wilson then very coolly ordered us out of Mexico. Thousands of foreigners who had their all in that country left, many of them with nothing but the clothing on their backs. At Tampico hundreds of Americans congregated; there were two American gunboats in the harbor, and during the first night of the invasion, April 22, the Americans congregated in the Southern Hotel. About 11 p. m. the excited mob attacked the hotel shouting "kill the Americans." What do you suppose the gunboats did when they heard what was going on? Come to our rescue? No. They up-anchored and took to the high seas, and had it not been for the plucky captain of a German gunboat who landed some of his marines and come to the rescue of the Americans some of them would probably have been killed. Do not forget the fact there were many women and children among these people. This is a fair sample of the protection Americans got in Mexico from the present administration.

Mr. Wilson sent to Mexico his personal friend, Mr. John Lind, to report on conditions in that country. Mr. Lind neither understood the Spanish language nor Latin Americans, therefore was incapable of learning their desires from a political standpoint. He landed in Veracruz, stopped at the consulate; went out and looked up Independence street and down the Fifth of May; then took a trip to Mexico City, insulted Huerta by presenting to him Mr. Wilson's note and returned to Veracruz, where he then made the statement that he entirely understood the Mexican question and conditions in the country; he never was within 500 miles of the section in which battles were being fought, and still he knew it all.

And there can be no disputing the fact that armed intervention will result if the present policy of supporting bandits and persecuting the decent element continues. There does not, nor has there, existed during the past two years, a single excuse or reason for American intervention in Mexico. All crimes committed against American citizens and foreigners for whom we were responsible through the Monroe doctrine were committed by the forces of Carranza and Villa, undeni-

ably and admitted by all the world to be Mr. Wilson's proteges. Then how can we, why should we, intervene to change a condition of affairs which we have brought about and for which your President is personally and solely responsible?

Mr. Wilson in his message to Congress delivered in person on August 27, 1913, said he believed the Mexican government rejected his proposals because "the authorities had been grossly misinformed and misled upon two points." First, they did not "realize the spirit" of "friendship" and "determination" of the American people; and secondly "they did not believe that the present administration spoke through Mr. Lind for the people of the United States." Was Mr. Lind speaking for the people of the United States when he said in Veracruz "the rebels will win in Mexico or there will be American intervention?"

The Mexican authorities were quite justified in their contention that Mr. Lind was not speaking for the American people. He was not. The American people do not sanction meddling in the family affairs of their neighbors. One of the State Department representatives, particularly, who has covered territory in Northern Mexico for some time, was and has been for several years socially ostracised, the decent native and foreign element refusing to associate with him. And there is another, at present with Carranza, who is incompetent for the same reason that Mr. Lind was.

And this is the class of men from whom Mr. Wilson has secured all his information regarding conditions in Mexico. He certainly had reason to state, as he did, in his speech at Princeton some months ago, that he was misinformed regarding Mexico. The State Department has persistently refused to listen to any of the thousands of Americans who have spent their lives in Mexico, and the best any of us ever got was "you have interests in Mexico and therefore are biased in your opinions." We have been classified as adventurers for the reason we had gone to a foreign country to pioneer. If it were not for the so-called adventurers what would be the status of foreign commerce?

About one year after the demand was made that Huerta retire within a few days, he did so, voluntarily. He was told by certain diplomatic representatives in Mexico that if he retired and turned over the government to Mr. Carvajal, who was acceptable to the Washington administration, that it would restore peace to the country, assuring him that this country would support Carvajal. Huerta, in the interest of his country, on those conditions resigned, and Carvajal took his place. Was Carvajal recognized? No. On the contrary things

were made more difficult for him, and within a few weeks he was compelled, for certain reasons, which at some future date I shall divulge, to evacuate eight large cities near the City of Mexico, surrounding himself on three sides by enemies.

These promises were, without doubt, made in bad faith, and solely for the purpose of eradicating the iron man, Huerta. He could not be removed by threats nor by an attempt to cut him off from supplies and money as Mr. Wilson had threatened, nor by force except through actual intervention, so he was tricked into leaving through false promises.

Owing to Huerta's retiring Mr. Wilson's efforts were crowned with success, and Villa and Carranza became all powerful and Carvajal was forced to retire. Carranza became provisional President, but soon the two thieves had a misunderstanding and each one selected territory in which to carry on their nefarious schemes.

Since that time things have gone from bad to worse, and now the most deplorable condition imaginable exists; no other country has ever suffered as Mexico; 160,000 armed bandits and marauders have been turned loose on the country; their first move was to disarm all civilians, a house to house search being made over the entire country; then all horses and saddles were seized. A decree was then issued that all those possessing arms and ammunition failing to deliver them to the nearest military chief within forty-eight hours would be summarily executed without trial. All civilians disarmed, thereby placing themselves at the mercy of the lower element. Then hell broke loose. Both factions cruelly, fiendishly, tortured then murdered those supposed to have been friendly to the old regime. Doctors, lawyers, priests merchants, who had apparently been neutral but unfortunately possessed either money, lands or merchandise, were taken prisoners and compelled to sweep the streets in the broiling sun, while the *officers* in charge took their possessions and in many instances went to their homes and violated their families. If a man rebelled against these outrages he was shot. The churches were desecrated and used as barracks, and in the convents not only the nuns and sisters of mercy were outraged but also the young pupils. These are not isolated cases, this condition existed wherever you found Carranza or Villa forces.

It has become a custom among these savages to give dances in the name of the officer commanding the garrison; invitations would be sent to the female members of the leading families and at the same time a threat would be made that if they refused to attend the male members of the family would pay the penalty. Thousands of the better class of women and girls were forcibly assaulted at these dances.

I have personally seen these fiends torture their victims in a manner that would have made an Apache Indian shudder at the thought

of. I have seen them saturate a man's clothing with petroleum then set him on fire. I have seen men with the soles of their feet pared to the bone and forced to walk on caetus, then tied up and placed on an ant hill to be slowly eaten by the ants.

I have seen hundreds hung and shot, and the crimes against womankind are so fiendish and repulsive they cannot be described.

Everybody was robbed, literally stripped of their all, and the worst crime a man could be charged with was the possession of money, and the female, virtue.

Since the Washington administration has supplied these bandits with arms and ammunition almost 300 foreigners have been murdered in cold blood, more than half of them Americans, to say nothing of themore than 300 Chinese murdered in Torreon in one day. Only in one case has an apology been made or indemnization paid, that of Mr. John McManus, murdered by Zapata troops in Mexico City about two months ago, \$20,000 paid family.

All of us have been robbed, driven from our homes, and our properties are now in the hands of these renegades. We are unable to defend ourselves as we have been disarmed and the United States continues openly to furnish our enemies all they want.

Has anything of the kind ever been done before in the history of the world? A President who claims to be an advocate of peace, a moral and cultured gentleman, openly rendering aid to notorious, world-renowned criminals, knowing perfectly well as he does, that neither of these bandit leaders have, or ever had, any intention of establishing a government in Mexico, and are devoting themselves entirely to the exploitation of the peaceable people for their personal gain. And the great American public is unconsciously a party to this; you have been misled, misinformed, the facts have been suppressed. The President, the Secretary of State and many of your Congressional Representatives *know* these statements to be facts.

Ignorance is no excuse before the law, and as a nation you will be held responsible by the civilized world for these crimes because it is an admitted fact that your President and Secretary of State are entirely and solely responsible for conditions in Mexico, owing to their foolish interference in a question which was none of their concern.

That I am not alone in this opinion you will readily see by reading the following editorials taken from the leading papers of the world:

From the *Washington Post*:

The people of the United States have, during the past ten months, given to the President and his Secretary of State a most remarkable proof of their confidence in their sincerity of purpose. The more remarkable inasmuch as many of them have failed to see that the rights of our citizens were as fully protected as desired, or that "the watching and waiting" policy was either beneficial to Mexico, to the United States, or fair to the citizens or subjects of foreign nations.

That it has not brought peace or happiness to the people of Mexico must be admitted.

That it has been productive of immense losses to American, British, German, French, and Spanish investors is apparent to all.

That it has advanced the peace interests of the world is exceedingly doubtful.

That it was and is producing friction in our foreign relations would seem to be as clear as diplomatic secrecy will permit the public to judge.

From the New Orleans *Picayune*:

Strong as has been President Wilson's policy with respect to matters of domestic concern, it must be admitted with regret that his attitude toward Mexico has been extremely weak and vascilating. Americans have been told to leave the country, as their government either could not or would not protect them. Foreigners, both Americans and Europeans, have been maltreated and their property seized or pillaged, yet nothing has been done other than the presentation of feeble protests.

As a result of this course foreign governments have lost all confidence in our ability to control the Mexican situation, and as they have no reason to expect anything from the revolutionists, they are quietly financing Huerta in the belief that he is the only man in Mexico capable of maintaining at least a show of order.

From the San Francisco *Argonaut*:

That President Wilson still hopes for the establishment of peace and order in Mexico in the spirit of her parchment constitution is simply evidence of the failure of a man of academic mind to distinguish between fact and theory. So long as Mr. Wilson shall maintain his present views, and his present course of action Mexico must suffer under that combination of cruelties and terrors so forcibly described in a letter from the City of Mexico printed in last week's *Argonaut*. One well-intentioned but unfortunately misinformed and curiously stubborn man is practically holding Mexico prostrate to be scorched and flayed. It is truly a terrible responsibility.

From the Boston *Transcript*:

We have tried "watchful waiting" only to abandon it in favor of the even more mischievous policy of pouring oil on the flames of civil war. Some of the bullets that pierced Benton's body may have been supplied to Villa from this country in consequence of the raising of the embargo on arms. To "watchful waiting" bloody blundering has succeeded.

From the Boston *Herald*:

One way out of this calamitous course remains—with honor.

There is still a chance to avert war. It is to recognize Huerta, and further than that to strengthen his hand. We should renew the embargo on arms to the bandits.

It may be that this step would come too late, that our policy has so weakened Huerta that he can no longer restore order. But he deserves the chance. He has clearly established his claim as *de facto* ruler of Mexico. And until we have given him the opportunity we are not justified in making the sacrifice that armed intervention would entail.

From the *Manchester Union*:

Conditions south of the Rio Grande are certainly no better, and probably worse to-day than they were at the beginning of the Wilson administration--and Heaven knows they were bad enough then. The policy of "watchful waiting" has been, to put it brutally, a policy of idleness.

Huerta, in an interview, declares that the present situation in Mexico is due to the United States, and, in a sense, he is right.

From the *Burlington Free Press*:

Having failed to recognize the established government in the capital of Mexico, and thus waived the right to hold Huerta's administration responsible for the protection of Americans in all Mexican territory, the Wilson Administration seems to have made the further mistake of recognizing in effect and aiding a rebel leader, in the person of Villa, even more bloodthirsty than Huerta was in connection with the overthrow of Madero.

Here, too, the precedents are strongly against the Wilson Administration, and in view of Mr. Wilson's recent utterances in defense or palliation of Villa, who has killed Americans as well as British it is not strange that Dr. Moore declined to allow his prestige as an international authority to suffer further from the smashing of precedents.

If President Wilson should undertake to follow the intervention of which he has already been guilty and which was in reality an act of war, by sending a military force into Mexican territory and thus instituting armed intervention, he will find it difficult to vindicate his course in the eyes of the nations as well as of the American people.

From the *Brooklyn Eagle*:

The policy of the administration, so far as it is generally understood, contemplates the scheme of Mexico working out her own destiny as a result of her present internal warfare, so that constitutional government will be restored, at least so far as it ever existed in the republic south of the Rio Grande. Those who adhere to this policy, however, say frankly they see no hope whatever that Mexico, through the agency of Villa, Carranza, Zapata, or any of the other revolution-

ary and bandit leaders, can restore constitutional government. Many of them admit that Huerta might have done so, with the aid of the United States; or at least might have succeeded in pacifying Mexico, even if he only brought about a restoration of the practical despotism that existed under Porfirio Diaz.

From the St. Johnsbury *Caledonian*:

Defeated in his whole programme to date, President Wilson should adopt another and recognize the Huerta government in Mexico the same as he recognized the new revolutionay government in Peru. Such a change in tactics may prevent a war with Mexico, and President Wilson, if he desires to save the country from one of its most serious blunders, will make it. The question now is not, is Huerta big enough to control Mexico, but is President Wilson big enough to acknowledge his mistake and save his country from the terrible misfortune it is now facing?

From the New York *Mail*:

While the Wilson Government has recognized the brutal dictatorship of Yuan Shi-Kai in the pretended Chinese Republic, it has refused to recognize the Huerta Government in Mexico, accepted by all other important nations, and has plainly encouraged the murderous and looting forces of the rebels, led by notorious and savage bandits, in a hopeless and shameful chaos of destruction that means the complete devastation of a rich and neighboring country or American armed intervention.

The dignity and authority of the United States as the protagonist of the American republics has been openly insulted and mocked in Mexico by the grafters of the South and the cutthroats of the North, and our national prestige in Latin America has been seriously damaged.

Meantime the Wilson administration has made the United States responsible for Mexican conditions that must go from bad to worse until, apparently, the horrors and losses must end in bloody intervention.

From the Sioux City *Journal*:

The weak point of the administration has been found in its foreign policy. The Mexican situation has proved an unworkable puzzle. There is a prevailing impression that President Wilson and Secretary Bryan have not made the most of their opportunities diplomatically.

The great European powers, following precedent which represents demonstrated expediency, promptly recognized the Huerta Government as the *de facto* Government. Mr. Bryan at once took the role of a diplomatic white blackbird when he refused to recognize that government or even to deal in regular form with it. The worst of his demand that General Huerta abdicate was not its grotesqueness.

It virtually invited all disaffected rebel and bandit elements in the north and elsewhere to assert themselves. It crippled the Central Government by injuring its credit, which was otherwise sufficient to raise ample funds in Europe. When bandit forces, thus encouraged and energized, had coalesced, the removal of the embargo furnished them with arms, ammunition and supplies of all kinds, for which they were able to raise money by wholesale confiscation and robbery.

But right at this point startling outrages force upon the world's attention the fact that the rebel government, both in its personnel and in its methods of gaining and using power, is incomparably worse than the worst that has been imputed to the Central Government, of which General Huerta is still *de facto* head after a year of rule. Disavowing intervention, we have thus in effect intervened against the actually existent Central Government. Thereby we have paralyzed its power and responsibility in northern Mexico, and yet no tolerable governmental power or responsibility has been substituted for it there with which we ourselves and other civilized nations can deal. At the same time neither we ourselves step in nor permit other nations to step in to vindicate foreign rights. Mr. Bryan simply started wrong and has been going wrong.

From the *Louisville Courier-Journal*:

War is what we shall get, sooner or later, for the folly of elinging to the Monroe Doctrine and assuming police supervision of Latin America in behalf of Christendom. President Wilson may succeed in avoiding it this time, but war we shall have, sooner or later, in Mexico or elsewhere in Latin America, and the harvest of blood and tears will have been earned by the sowing of folly.

Surely Don Quixote, astride of Rozinante, with the barber's bowl on his head for a helmet, was never a more ridiculous figure than that country cuts at the present juncture.

From the *Hartford Courant*:

By the simple recognition of the Huerta Government, which under all the rules and practices of intelligent diplomacy is fully entitled to recognition, there would be no need of sending any American army into Mexico. President Wilson is not so stupid as not to see this. President Wilson is a man of acute and most alert intelligence, and he is not above learning by his own blunders, as is shown by his promptness in giving official recognition to the revolutionary governments just set up in Peru and Hayti.

But he is morally obstinate—obstinate by nature and obstinate by years of autocratic rule in the schoolroom; and in addition to this he fears that his prestige, which has been carefully built up all through the country by his unlimited newspaper admirers, would be impaired by the frank confession that his much-vaunted Mexican policy has been one continuous blunder from the outset.

The election of a new congress in November of this year, a piece of work in which he has already taken the directing hand, also makes it especially inopportune, from his party point of view, to admit a change of mind in regard to our relations with Mexico; yet it is only by such a change of mind and of policy, to which his own nature, habits, and special political interests of the moment are strongly opposed, that he can really and truly do the thing that is required in order to keep our troops out of Mexico.

This is why we say that President Wilson needs to begin all over again in the treatment of Mexico. It has taken him a long time to find out the kind of man with whom he has been sympathizing and upon whom he has been depending for the political regeneration of that country. He violated all the rules and usages governing such matters by undertaking to say for Mexico what kind of a government Mexico should have, and his undertaking has broken down. He can send American troops into Mexico or he can give due recognition to the existing Huerta government. There are the alternatives. But President Wilson cannot truly be said to be "trying" to avert armed intervention in Mexico unless he first tries the old and reputable and peaceful method of recognizing and giving the moral support of the United States to the *de facto* Government of that country.

From the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*:

There is no disguising the fact that Mr. Wilson's "watchful waiting" policy has proved a dismal failure. Good intentions remain the only excuse for this refusal to accept accomplished facts when Madero fell.

Mr. Moore wanted Huerta accepted as the *de facto* ruler of Mexico not because he approved Huerta, but as the strongest man in sight, and on the ground that the manner in which Mexicans see fit to change their rulers is none of our business. It is, perhaps, still possible to take that course. It is plain that Carranza and Villa will not do. Huerta may be a poor stick from idealistic viewpoints, but what more capable Mexican is in sight? Mr. Wilson has demanded and has been given a free hand. His dealing with Mexico have brought the country to the point where it may be compelled, against its will, to armed intervention, that it may preserve its self-respect. Has President Wilson the moral courage to change his policy and bring the nation out of the difficult and dangerous position into which he has led it?

From the Detroit *Free Press*:

The nation stands on the brink of an imbroglio with the whole or a part of Mexico. It is not the doing of the American people. It is the result of a wholly unfeasible policy, persisted in against all logic—a policy which breaks every canon of tried diplomacy and common sense. The nation has not desired war; it does not want it now. If forced into a conflict it will make the fight because it finds itself in a

position where no other course is compatible with honor and self-respect and duty to citizens abroad.

From the New York *World*:

Notwithstanding our strong official opposition to Huerta, that has prevented him from obtaining funds or augmenting his army, and your repeated assertions that he was on his last legs, he seems to have proved that he is the strongest leader in Mexico to-day, and that, had he been granted recognition in April last, his country would have been peaceful long since, at least would have been free from the armed bands of such assassins and robbers as Villa, Castillo, Zapata, and others. I do not mention Carranza, as he is apparently only a figurehead, with sufficient sense to keep him from coming in contact with Villa.

It seems to me plain that those who have advocated recognition for Huerta are not clamorous for war as you intimate, but firmly believe that such a step would have prevented any cause for intervention by having brought peace to Mexico and saved thousands of lives and millions of dollars' worth of property. Although our official treatment of Huerta has been such as to perfectly warrant him in ignoring completely any demands or requests made of him, he has invariably given courteous attention to all representatives from our unofficial charge d'affairs and acted promptly on all our complaints.

Kindly note this: If we do not recognize Huerta and assist him in bringing his country out of anarchy (though very late for such a step and now attended with much greater difficulties than at an earlier date,) intervention must surely take place, for even should we willingly continue our "watchful waiting" and look on quietly at a terrible state of affairs, other nations will not agree to hold aloof for a much longer period.

Philadelphia *Public Ledger*:

We ought to reverse our action. We ought to redeem our obligation without hesitation or quibble, an obligation which we have assumed, and rightly assumed, but in the fulfillment of which we have been strangely lacking. It makes no difference whether the Administration was right or wrong when its Mexican policy was adopted. The large thing to do is the only thing we can afford to do, and largeness in the circumstances consists in the capacity to adopt a programme *de novo*, to sweep out of the way regard for petty consistency, to acknowledge whatever errors there may have been in former policy, to break the shackles of accepted precedent and move untrammelled toward a complete solution of the problem.

That is the largeness which the nation expects of the President. Public opinion senses the imminent peril of intervention and the necessity for action. It does not presume to dictate what policy the Administration should adopt, although the recommendatory attitude of the Press is almost unanimously in favor of a Pan-American concert but it

does insist that the pilot put his hands to the wheel and give positive direction to a forward movement, that the fine skill which has guided the process of the repeal of the canal-tolls exemption be exercised now in extricating the nation from the lamentable shallowness of purpose into which it has been permitted to drift.

In letters to New York *Herald*:

When an individual realizes he has made a mistake he will, if he is big, acknowledge and correct it. Should not a nation be as big as an individual?

President Wilson has withheld recognition from the only government that exists in Mexico, believing the forces in opposition would be able to accomplish Huerta's early overthrow, and that in these forces lay Mexico's best hope of peace.

Events have proved the policy of the United States to be wrong. Huerta, whose government is just as constitutional as that of Peru, which the President hastened to recognize, has lasted for more than a year. The "Constitutionalist" cause has produced nothing better than a Villa.

Hasn't the time come for the President to realize and rectify his mistake, not in the interest of Huerta, but as a right due to the American people?

Recognition of the Huerta government seems to me the only possible way for us to escape the armed intervention that neither the President nor anybody else in this country wants.

There is very much to commend in President Wilson's address to Congress yesterday. Who can question the wisdom of this:

"The large thing to do is the only thing we can afford to do, a voluntary withdrawal from a position everywhere questioned."

President Wilson may well ponder these words from his own mouth. They apply directly and forcefully to his own Mexican policy.

If he is able to do the "large thing" and voluntarily withdraw from his mistaken attitude, which is responsible for all our troubles, this nation may yet see a "way out" from its unfortunate Mexican entanglements. I fear there is no such "way out" unless the President does follow the excellent advice he yesterday gave to Congress.

In a letter to the New York *Tribune*:

There seem to be but two alternatives—immediate intervention or immediate recognition of Huerta, far preferably the latter. The world has always recognized that moral courage is far greater than physical courage. Is President Wilson great enough and strong enough to say to Huerta: "I have opposed you from the beginning because I thought I was right and that you were wrong. I now realize that I have been wrong, and I am going to give you a chance to prove that you are right and can bring peace to Mexico. I am therefore willing to recognize your government with the understanding that you will bring peace

to your country within the next three months. If you fail to accomplish this I shall recommend immediate intervention to Congress. The present conditions cannot continue; they are intolerable." If Woodrow Wilson is a big enough man to do this our people and the nations of the world will acclaim him the greatest man in the world. I can see no alternative.

In a letter to the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*:

The writer during his vacation in the past summer met some intelligent American people who had large property interests in Mexico, and for his own enlightenment inquired as to their opinion relative to conditions in that country.

They advised him that they thought the only salvation of Mexico could come from within, and that Huerta, backed up by his government, was the only person qualified to thoroughly police the place.

That the only bar to such action on the part of Huerta was the opposition stand taken by the Government of the United States.

That this Government stood alone among the nations in its Mexican policy.

That recognition by this country of the Federal Government of Mexico would enable the latter to borrow, probably in London, possibly in the United States, all the funds required to maintain order, and to call a halt to the acts of outrageous brutality now being committed, and to the great loss of property belonging to American and British subjects residing in Mexico.

In letters to the New York *Sun*:

If our President, who has proved himself in some ways in this first year of his incumbency a very great President, could persuade himself that the whole world is not in the wrong—that he is like the Irishman who informed his drill sergeant who told him that he was out of step, not at all, that he was in step, and that all the rest of the company were out of step; if he could be made to believe that he and his friends may possibly be wrong, since the whole world of Europe and America thinks concerning the advisability of Huerta's recognition exactly the reverse of his thinking; if he could come out frankly and answer that upon misinformation furnished him at the outset concerning General Huerta's resources and personality he declined to recognize him, but that now he perceives his mistake and will recognize him—then the President at one bound would become the most popular man in the United States, war would be averted, and the whole problem solved.

It is the belief of those who have studied the situation and are on the ground that Huerta, if as well backed by this country as the so-called Constitutionals have been, would make good in short order and restore peace and prosperity to distracted Mexico.

It has been said that most of Mexico is against Huerta. This is erroneous. If this were true, when the rebels attack a town they should

be able to take it without much trouble, since the inhabitants of same would attack the Federals from the rear. Whenever the rebels, or bandits, assault a town, the inhabitants join in the defence of the town, This is the most eloquent proof that Mexico, as a country, is in favor of President Huerta.

From the foregoing it can be seen that Huerta, far from being a traitor, is a great patriot, that he is the *de facto* and the *de jure* President of Mexico, and that the Mexican people at large support him heartily. The foreign powers, with the exception of this country, and may be one or two of minor importance, recognizing these incontrovertible facts, have recognized Huerta as the *de facto* and the *de jure* Provisional President of Mexico. The United States ought to follow suit and vindicate herself by acknowledging her misconception of the facts. This acknowledgment would have no savor of humiliation, for "to err is human" and to make amends is manly and holy. This non-recognition policy on the part of the Wilson Administration on the reported ground that it would be immoral to grant recognition is tantamount to saying that all the other governments that have recognized Huerta are immoral, which would be a reflection on all the civilized world.

In view of the above it is to be hoped that the American Government will come to the conclusion which I stated above, namely, that it has misconceived the facts, and that it must vindicate itself by recognizing the Huerta Administration forthwith.

From the London *Spectator*:

We can see nothing but bitter and cruel mortification as the result of Mr. Wilson's policy of "watchful waiting," while that policy means watching and waiting on such fiendish villainies. So far the effects of Mr. Wilson's policy have been the very nemesis of pacifism. General Huerta, as the *de facto* ruler of Mexico, at least had a better chance than any one else of producing order. But that was not enough for Mr. Wilson. With admirable yet fatal motives, he looked for personal perfection in a land where it does not exist, at all events in public life. By gradual stages he has been driven into a corner, and has at last come to the point of recognizing anarchy in preference to recognizing General Huerta. By a very different route from that of a professed man of iron and blood, he has arrived for all practical purposes at a purely cynical policy. He has removed the prohibition on the traffic in arms across the United States frontier, and now looks on "watchfully" while American citizens and British subjects are killed and trains are sent full tilt into burning tunnels. This terrible state of affairs is the result of the primary error of supposing that you can dictate to a proud and independent country, and at the same time really respect its independence. "Things are what they are, and the consequences will be what they will be. Why, then should we desire to be deceived?" The alternatives are to recognize whatever President

has at the moment climbed to power, or to act as though Mexico were no longer an independent country. One or the other it must be. The latter policy has always meant a great campaign and a military occupation, although Mr. Wilson has steadily refused to see what he did not wish to believe.

From the *Economiste Francaise* of Paris:

The United States have as President to-day a doctrinaire, very eager for the people's good. Mr. Woodrow Wilson is a university professor and the author of some interesting books. He consequently has the advantages and disadvantages pertaining to a life long devoted to learning and teaching. His mentality is elevated, but rigidly unadaptive; his honesty is above suspicion. He is, however, deficient in experience. He considers himself called upon to regenerate the public morals not only of the United States, but also of other countries. He says he will not permit Mexico to initiate such and such a candidate for the presidency. But neither Mexico nor the nations of Europe can possibly submit to these North American injunctions. Mexico is an independent state, and it is desirable she should remain so.

From the *Novoye Vremya* of St. Petersburg:

The fact that all European, South American and Asiatic countries have long recognized the Government of Huerta can be considered as the best proof that Huerta has ably conducted the governmental affairs of Mexico. Only the United States has assumed a peculiar position. While refusing to recognize Huerta, it has until now confined itself to the energetic support of the rebels concentrated in the north with money, men, and ammunition. The Message of President Wilson reveals the game of the United States. It not only demands that an armistice should be concluded with the revolutionists, but even insists categorically that Huerta should not be a candidate for president in the coming election. It is not in vain that the Western European press permitted themselves to express the supposition that the United States openly take the side of Mexican anarchy.

From the *Berliner Tageblatt*:

Every Mexican knows very well that the policy of the United States in regard to Mexican affairs aims at establishing a protectorate, more or less disguised, over their republic, because it separates the United States from the partially subjugated republics situated north of Panama. Huerta is not a particularly attractive individual, but it is nevertheless true that this "immoral" man against whom the ex-professor of Princeton contemplates the mobilization of an army is exactly the man that Mexico at this juncture needs. He would have established the order which has so long been disturbed if he had been permitted to do so. The dictator is fully aware of the peril to which he and his country are exposed from the United States. He has merely persis-

tently faced this peril without paying any attention to the clamor that rises on the other side of the Rio Grande. That he has so far succeeded in his plans to a certain point is proved by the cheek administered to the tragicomic mission of Lind. \*\*\*\* At present the submission of Huerta is a thing inconceivable. It appears more probable that he will let Uncle Sam bite the sour fruit of failure.

From the *Boernsen Courier* of Berlin :

The sly and undecided policy of the United States has made American diplomacy the laughing stock of the world. The Government at Washington is aiming in an underhand way at stripping Mexico of her political independence, but above all at establishing in that country the economic supremacy of the United States. If that Government had desired nothing more than the re-establishment of peace it would have recognized Huerta long ago.

From the *Imparcial* of Madrid :

We have every reason for distrusting the United States. We have already frequently pointed out how the Northern Republic is attempting to take Mexico in her net.

From the *Prensa* of Buenos Aires :

All that Wilson has said in his address to the Congress at Washington has merely served to fortify the position taken by Huerta. The policy of Mr. Wilson has only one tendency, and that is to unite the Latin-American states, in spite of Uncle Sam, and make such a hostile federation a reality instead of the political dream which it has hitherto been.

From the *Voz de Oriente* of Lima :

Far from mending, the situation in Mexico is growing more complicated and dangerous. This condition of things results in a large measure from the attitude of the Government at Washington in refusing to recognize Huerta, while Wilson sympathizes with the rebels and even gives them his support. This is the cause of the movement among the students in Mexico City. These youngsters have made a grand manifestation against the Yankees before the palace of the Governor when they carried flags bearing the inscription "Death to the Yankees". The irritation exhibited by the Mexicans is amply justified.

From the *Prensa* of Lima :

The President's declaration that he could not recognize Huerta's Government because it was founded on treason is extremely interesting. But nothing can justify the intervention of one state in the affairs of another. At least there ought to be some explanation of the motive which urges North America to favor, by opposing Huerta, the interests

of Carranza insurgents who have raised the ensign of an independent Mexico.

From the *Revista de Yucatan* of Merida:

President Wilson and his Secretary of State appear each to be one of three things. Either they are the romanticists of diplomacy, or the ignoramuses of diplomacy, or the hypocrites of diplomacy. In whichever of these characters we regard them, they are hurtful to the country they govern and to the nations with which they deal. For nothing can be more pernicious in political life than romanticism which engenders your dreamers, your fanatics, extravagant theorists, and your Utopians who do not see the reality of things, who do not perceive the world in which they live and attempt to go beyond the law of nature. The ignoramus is one destitute of science or letters. \*\*\*\* The hypocrite is just what the word imports—he is a man who blazons abroad as his own the virtues he does not possess.

From *El Imparcial* (anti-Huerta) of Mexico:

It is difficult to believe that the Yankee Government is authorizing the sale of arms to the bandits of Villa, who pillage, burn, and murder throughout the country. How can the rulers of a cultivated people under guidance of a wilful and obstinate leader, suffer themselves to be guilty of complicity with such a band of plunderers? It once appeared impossible that President Wilson should be a man destitute alike of conscience and a sense of shame. If the American people approve of this astounding measure taken by their President, they will deserve the contempt of all honorable nations.

From the *Pais* (pro-Huerta) of Mexico:

The only thing which President Wilson will have done is to bring into greater prominence the personality of Huerta, who, thanks to the intrigues of the North Americans, represents to-day upon our new continent the soul of the Latin race.

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Feeling certain that you are convinced that I am not alone in my opinions after reading this mass of editorials and also that Mr. Wilson has lost that generous support he had during the first year or more of office and that all intelligent thinking men and women now concede that his foreign policy regarding Mexico was a blunder from beginning to end I shall continue:

Most of the loyal and educated class of Mexicans have been driven from their country and their properties confiscated. Those still remaining are at the mercy of the bandits.

To attempt a popular election in Mexico at this time would be a farce. There never has been a popular election held in Mexico in its history.

To attempt to establish a democratic form of government now is an impossibility.

The only possible form of government in Mexico for some years to come is a benign dictatorship such as existed under Gen. Porfirio Diaz, and the sooner President Wilson convinces himself of this fact the better for the American people.

Mr. Wilson has only one legitimate move to make at this time, that is wipe his Mexican slate clean, forget all that has been done, and commence all over. But in doing so he must forget his ideals and remember that a government in Mexico according to his ideas is at this time utterly impossible. He must at once withdraw all moral or physical support from the criminal element represented by Carranza and Villa, whom he knows most positively are neither capable nor desirous of restoring peace: he also knows they will continue in a state of anarchy just as long as there is a city, home or ranch to be looted at a profit or a virtuous woman in the country; he knows he will not be allowed to recognize either of these factions even if they did, apparently, restore peace, either by his own people or other nations, owing to the fact that all outrages and crimes against us have been committed by the forces under their control. Neither would the better element of Mexicans accept this. If Carranza or Villa were to be recognized by this Government it would be the signal for a new uprising, as the Mexican nation is not going to submit to Mr. Wilson's forcing upon them as rulers either of these men.

Would you allow Great Britain to force you to accept the negroes as your rulers? You say no. Then how can you expect Mexico to do so? The comparison is all in favor of the negro, for these men are criminals.

There is only one factor in this question, there has only been one—Woodrow Wilson. He can give Mexico peace or he can continue the anarchy, and the question is up to him.

There is only one method of restoring peace and establishing a government such as existed before in Mexico, and that method is through FORCE. This is not a question for further American interference; it is one which must be settled by the Mexicans themselves. This can be done easily and quickly if Mr. Wilson complies with his sworn duty to his own people and his obligation before the world. His duty is to withdraw absolutely from the position he has maintained to date withdrawing all support from Carranza and Villa and throwing down the bars to all Mexicans.

A rich country with a population of sixteen millions of people is in the grip of one hundred and sixty thousand of bandits who got control of the country through the active support and assistance of President Wilson. Owing to this same fact the better element were compelled to leave the country.

Mr. Wilson has allowed his proteges two years almost to make a

showing, and they have, a record written in blood. The better element are determined to get back to their country and drive these men out, and Mr. Wilson knows it. But what does Mr. Wilson do? Assist these good people to get back their own? No, he still continues to support the bandits and persecutes the better element. He allows Carranza and Villa to buy military equipment of all kinds in this country, but just as soon as any of the decent Mexicans even approach the borders of Mexico along the Rio Grande he has then arrested for breach of neutrality. Is it not ridiculous? Breach of neutrality with a country without a semblance of a government and who have proven on numerous occasions that they were anything but friendly.

As I said, arrested on a trumped up charge, bailed out and immediately re-arrested on the same charge. Mr. Wilson is simply continuing his petty persecution. He persecuted Huerta while President, he is persecuting him now, simply because he knows that Huerta in the choice of his people as well as the foreigners residents of Mexico and that his people are rallying about him and demanding that he restore to them their country. The American public must see the injustice, the dishonor to themselves through these tactics.

If Mr. Wilson declared a policy of neutrality in the spirit regarding Mexico he knows that a strong man would lead the decent people to victory in Mexico in a very short time.

The solution of the problem is simple. Allow the decent people to arm themselves with the same freedom you do the bandits, and I assure you that a strong, capable leader will spring up and lead them to victory and restore order in the country in less than six months. Your alternative is to continue on the lines you have followed to date and eventually send your soldiers to their doom through your obstinacy.

I claim that Mr. Wilson has assumed grave moral responsibility for most of the outrages committed in Mexico during the past two years, and for the following reasons:

Refusal to recognize the only legal executive of Mexico.

Cutting off of the latter from money and arms in this country and the cowardly attempt to stop the shipment on the Ypiranga.

Declaration of personal hostility toward Huerta through the blockading of Veracruz, which was done with the exclusive object of cutting him off from supplies and lowering his prestige with his people.

As a consequence of the above the flocking of the criminally inclined to the standards of Carranza and Villa.

The supplying of arms and ammunition to the two last named over the American frontier during the time the embargo was on and later the raising of the embargo.

Through this active support from the American government Carranza and Villa were enabled to arm the criminal element; that through this assistance they attained power sufficient to disarm by force the civilians of the country thereby placing themselves at the mercy of those in power.

That as a consequence of furnishing them with arms and ammunition as well as moral support thousands of murders were committed, women violated, and more than a billion dollars worth of property destroyed.

That Mr. Wilson knew from the beginning the characters of the men with whom he was dealing, thereby making him responsible. He could not help knowing. Every newspaper in the land was telling him. Every foreigner from Mexico was shouting it. It was public and notorious. He cannot deny that he knew then and knows better now.

If 160,000 anarchists broke loose in New York and commenced the wholesale murder of peaceable citizens, outraging of women, burning and looting and Mr. Wilson ordered out the militia to assist the anarchists as against the decent law abiding citizens his moral responsibility could be no greater than it now is in Mexico.

The title of this article should be the: C. C. C's, and I get it from the fact that I believe it to be Cruel, Cowardly, Criminal, to supply the Carranza-Villa factions with arms and ammunition which we positively know are to be dedicated to the slaughter of unarmed innocents now and at a later date to be turned on our own troops if our present policy is pursued.

You all know that Public Opinion in this great country is what moves the man in the chair. If I have made a case and you believe the worthy Mexicans deserve a chance, to say nothing of your seventy thousand brothers and sisters who have left their all in that country, I would respectfully request that you petition the Representative of your respective district to take such action as he may deem prudent to the end that justice may be done. By doing so you will be assisting individually and collectively every decent inhabitant of Mexico, and at the same time avoiding a war with Mexico which may cost you your own life or that of a son or brother.

Are you going to stand by and see the most ruthless band of cut-throats ever collected in the history of the world continue to murder American and foreign subjects, violate females, destroy property and desecrate the churches without a protest? If you agree that the present Administration is responsible for this condition I beg of you to lend your assistance to the end that justice may be done, the wrong righted as far as possible, and this country restored to the position of dignity and respect that we previously occupied and commanded as a nation before the world

On the first day of your second year of office, Mr. Wilson, you said to the Congress of the United States:

"The large thing to do is the only thing to do—a voluntary withdrawal from a position everywhere questioned and misunderstood. We ought to reverse our action without raising the question whether

we were right or wrong, and so once more deserve our reputation for generosity and the redemption of every obligation without quibble or hesitation."

You was then referring to your Mexican policy, Mr. Wilson.

Will you reverse your action. If you do the cowards now in the field will take to the high timber and Mexico's atmosphere will soon clear and you will have removed a truly terrible responsibility from your shoulders with respect to the future.

On the day this pamphlet went to press it seems that this government has decided to recognize Carranza. If this is done it will be the third grave error committed regarding Mexico. There will immediately be uprisings against him headed by his own officers. And how about the one million decent Mexicans who have been driven from the country by him and whose lives would be the forfeit if they returned to their country while he was in office? Do you think they could accept this solution? They must be taken into consideration and given a voice in whatever settlement is proposed. As yet they have not been considered, on the contrary have been persistently discriminated against by our government, and until allowed a voice in the matter there can be no solution pointing to permanent peace. You cannot expatriate a million people who represent the legitimate rulers of a country and expect them to accept it; nor will they accept expatriation; nor will they commit suicide by returning to Mexico while Carranza is in power, for they know full well he would murder them in spite of any promises he might make in order to get recognition. He does not know the meaning of the word amnesty, and if recognized it will mean a continuance of the policy of pouring oil on the flames and a continuance of anarchy.





